Full Employment Through Village Industries

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INDUSTRIALIZATION IS NOT NECESSARY

(*By Gandhiji*)

I do not believe that industrialization is necessary in any case for any country. It is much less so for India. Indeed, I believe that Independent India can only discharge her duty towards a groaning world by adopting a simple but ennobled life by developing her thousands of cottages and living at peace with the world. High thinking is inconsistent with complicated material life based on high speed imposed on us by Mammon worship. All the graces of life are possible only when we learn the art of living nobly.

Whether such plain living is possible for an isolated nation, however large geographically and numerically, in the face of a world armed to the teeth and in the midst of pomp and circumstance is a question open to the doubt of a sceptic. The answer is straight and simple. If plain life is worth living, then the attempt is worth making even though only an individual or a group makes the effort.

At the same time I believe that some key industries are necessary. I do not believe in armchair or armed socialism. I believe in action according to my belief, without waiting for wholesale conversion. Hence, without having to enumerate key industries, I would have State ownership, where a large number of people have to work together. The ownership of the products of their labour, whether skilled or unskilled, will vest in them through the State. But as I can conceive such a State only based on non-violence, I would not dispossess moneyed men by force but would invite their co-operation in the process of conversion to State ownership. There are no *parihas* of society, whether they are millionaires or paupers. The two are sores of the same disease. And all are men "for a' that".

On the train to Delhi, 25-8-'46

Harijan, 1-9-'46

TOWARDS NON-VIOLENT SOCIALISM
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GANDHIAN TECHNIQUE AND THE WORLD CRISIS *

(*By Pyarelal*)

In the course of the discussions that have been going on, the question has again and again been asked, how did Gandhiji manage to convey the message of non-violence to such a large number of people and make them practise non-violence on such a vast scale?

The starting point of Gandhiji's technique was that non-violence is the strength of the weak. Therefore it turns upon insignificant, little things in life; its instruments are also insignificant looking. In India there were 400 millions. We had the numbers on our side; but numbers can also be a source of weakness. How to convert the numbers into a source of strength — not brute strength but the power of non-violence — that was his problem. His instruments were poor, illiterate, ignorant men, women and even children. The question before him was to devise a form of action which these unsophisticated folk could practise, which would evoke the power latent in them and harness it for the freedom struggle. All his programme of mass action therefore had that elemental simplicity in them. His education for non-violence too consisted of very small things in basic spiritual disciplines, as he called them.

He created heroes out of clay. He could do it because he ceaselessly strove to live the whole truth as he saw it. It is not enough to profess truth, it is not enough to proclaim truth; what is necessary is that it must be proclaimed by the deed. His method of propaganda was propaganda by the deed. He stood sentinel upon himself all the 24 hours. He examined each and every one of his actions in the light of the principles of Truth and Ahimsa, whether they satisfied all the implications and corollaries that flowed from the acceptance of these principles. It was his theory that when an idea is personified in action in all its purity, its power spreads far and wide. It

* Being the text of the oral statement made by Shri Pyarelal in presenting his paper to the Seminar on the 'Contribution of Gandhian Outlook and Technique to the Solution of Tensions between and within Nations' on the 12th January 1953 at New Delhi.

does not then need any material medium for its propagation. What, however, happens ordinarily is that what we say or what we think is belied by what we do and thus untruth in action chokes the power inherent in unadulterated truth. It is not possible for a human being to remove the hiatus completely between thought, word and deed. It is not possible for a human being in the flesh to attain the complete ideal of non-violence. But it is possible by constant endeavour and striving to progressively attenuate it. Once the critical limit is crossed and the barrier pierced that confines the power of non-violence, an energy will be released which knows no limit and which can fill the entire universe. It was Gandhiji's constant endeavour, by dint of sleepless discipline, to attain to that state of unadulterated truth. To the extent that he succeeded in this, the power of his deed grew and produced the phenomenal results at which the world still marvels.

To make the masses see and feel that he was one of them and belonged to them, he took to the spinning wheel. He nursed it with all the passion of the soul that he was capable of. No matter how tired he was, how heavy the load of work he was labouring under, he never failed to perform the sacrament of his daily spinning.

Food and clothing are the basic requirements of man. Gandhiji was a materialist enough to believe that our thinking is conditioned by what we do with our hands, particularly the activities related to the satisfaction of our primary needs, more than what we are taught or told. Spinning wheel was intimately related to a basic requirement of four hundred millions. It provided Gandhiji with an instrument of mass education. The goal of all education has been defined to be to make right thinking and right action instinctive to us. Has not Ruskin said somewhere that the end of all education is to make the love of truth and abhorrence of cruelty natural to man? Spinning wheel was at one time the symbol of India's backwardness, exploitation and slavery. Gandhiji made it the symbol of non-violence and a means for the cultivation of the discipline and organization of non-violence. It enabled him to carry his message even to the humblest cottage, and to establish a living bond of co-operation between them and the workers which made non-violent, corporate action on a nation-wide scale possible.

The universality of the spinning wheel, in his eyes, was its greatest asset. Gandhiji's technique of non-violent action rested on his discovery that small, insignificant looking things when performed by millions of people together as part of a consciously directed effort, produce results far greater than any individual can achieve or than the sum total of their individual efforts put together. All of Gandhiji's activities had this thing in common — they were capable of being multiplied to the n'th degree.

We were discussing yesterday the question: what we are to do with nations that do not co-operate with the United Nations Organization, how we can reach them. It is no use blaming it all on the sinister influence of communism or wirepulling from the Kremlin. I am no admirer of communism or its tactics. But let us try to get down to the grass roots. What is it that makes people so susceptible to communist propaganda? What it is that makes communism dynamic? It is the oppression and exploitation of the weak and the less advanced people by the strong, the backing which reaction has received at the hands of the big powers. We were talking of the intransigence of China the other day. What is the record of the big powers in China? Opium War, Boxer Rebellion, Extra-Territoriality. They have supported corrupt, reactionary regimes in China, Viet Nam, Africa and Europe. That is what has made people like the Chinese so distrustful of the Western Powers. But for it, China might have been saved to democracy. What should be our attitude towards China today in terms of the Gandhian outlook? The plain answer is to admit her into the United Nations Organization unconditionally and without delay — and this not as strategy or tactics but as a genuine act of belated justice. If Gandhiji had an opponent in the Congress he preferred to have him inside the Working Committee than outside. He used to say: "I shall be able to act upon him better, if he is inside. Outside he will be beyond the direct operation of my non-violence." And let me tell you that his action was justified by results.

A tidal wave of consciousness is sweeping over all the suppressed and oppressed races of the world and it is our great privilege to have Dr. Bunche in our midst who can very well speak for these people. Has the Gandhian technique any application here? If we can make it possible for these people to resist their exploitation by non-violent means, we shall have half won the battle of non-violence all over the world.

I remember, a deputation of Africans from South Africa once came to Gandhiji and asked him: "Tell us what we are to do? Is there any hope for us?" His reply was: "If there is one thing that can save you, it is the spinning wheel and all that it stands for." He offered to train a dozen of their young men in the various constructive activities and to send them back in their turn to educate and organize their people in the same way. It is a suggestion worthy of your serious consideration. You will perhaps smile at the naivete of the suggestion. Let me assure you it is no laughing matter.

The African native is a freedom-loving creature. He hates to slave for anybody. But to

induce him to sell his labour he is made to depend on the White settlers for the satisfaction of his essential needs. When these are non-existent they are created artificially. For instance, there is a by-law that a Zulu or a Bantu must wear a piece of regulation cloth in order to visit a Municipal area, which of course, he must purchase. Initiation into the liquor habit and the enforcement of excise regulations is another means of impounding their labour. Why should they have to purchase the first by doing forced labour and why should they not be taught to abjure liquor altogether? Nature has blessed them with all the resources to enable them to live a happy, contented, civilized life. All that they need is education in the arts of life and civilization and the discipline and organization of non-violence to put an end to their exploitation.

In a remarkable passage the author of *The Martyrdom of Man* has shown the part which the shuttle and the handloom, the plough and the call to prayer have played in the spread of civilization into the heart of Africa. The analogy between that historical process and the Gandhian technique is obvious. You cannot go on preaching sermons to the poor folk for long; they will feel bored. Nor can you make the masses stand on moral tiptoe, as it were, all the time. But if you talk to them in terms of their daily wants and show them how they can realize their freedom in respect of them through their own effort and by dint of co-operation amongst themselves you create a basis for discipline and organization that rests not upon force but its opposite. It will give them a sense of power and cohesion and enable them to resist aggression and exploitation by the power of non-violence. Arm these people with this technique and you remove not only their exploitation and oppression but to a large extent also the challenge of communism which sets out to eradicate exploitation and oppression but replaces it with something equally bad if not worse.

Hindi-Hindustani Examinations

The result of the Hindi-Hindustani Examinations held in February, 1953, will be declared on April 12, 1953. The next examinations will be held in September on the following dates:

Hindi *Tisari* and Hindi *Vinit* on September 5, 6 and Hindi *Pahli* and Hindi *Dusari* on September 13, 1953.

The application forms of all these Hindi Examinations will be filled in the different centres till June 30, 1953.

The Hindi *Sevak* Examination will be held on July 24, 25, 26, 1953 and the applications will be accepted by June 15, 1953.

Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad-9, 23-2-'53

GIRIRAJKISHORE, Pariksha Mantri

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IS ILLICIT DISTILLATION DUE TO PROHIBITION?

(*By Bharatan Kumarappa*)

Anti-Prohibition newspapers seem to gloat over the fact that there was a raid on a still here and a still there. They appear to want to suggest that people are taking to illicit manufacture of liquor because of Prohibition, and that therefore the way to put an end to such malpractices is to scrap Prohibition. Quite an easy solution, no doubt. Make what is now illicit licit, and then there will be nothing illicit to worry about! Law will not be held in disrespect for there will be no Prohibition law any more to violate!

But the matter is not as simple as all that if we may judge from the experience of America. In that country we are told that illicit distillation has actually increased since Repeal of Prohibition. The liquor manufacturer there finds that he can make enormous profits if he evades the taxes which the man with the licence has to pay; so he manufactures illicitly.

Here is evidence in this connection from Mr Squires, Research Counsel for the National W. C. T. U. of America:

> "Bootlegging has apparently reached a new peak of competition with licensed liquor dealers. According to a brewery weekly bulletin, there are more bootleggers, moonshiners and illicit whisky distilleries in the United States than in Prohibition days. According to the *Washington Post*, August 1951, Federal, State and local authorities in 1950 seized 19,644 stills with a daily production of 677,179 gallons. According to the L. B. I. this compares with legal production in 1950 of 477,986 gallons daily." (*Union Signal*, November 1, 1952, page 7).

It seems incredible that more liquor was produced in the U. S. illicitly than licitly, and more incredible still that even the illicit liquor seized by the Police was more than what was legally produced, for it would mean that in addition to what was seized there was much more illicit liquor produced but not detected or seized.

If this is the state of affairs in a non-Prohibition country like America, it is obvious that getting rid of Prohibition is no solution to the problem of illicit distillation. Indeed, it would seem that the illicit manufacturer of liquor thrives even more where there is no Prohibition, for then he can make huge profits by tax-evasion. Let us not, therefore, be deceived by the suggestion that if it were not for Prohibition there would be no illicit distillation.

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HARIJAN

Feb. 28 1953

FULL EMPLOYMENT THROUGH VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

(*By S. N. Agarwal*)

In India, the main problem today is to provide fuller employment to the millions of unemployed and the under-employed. We have, therefore, to patronize 'labour-absorbing' rather than 'labour-saving' machines for the promotion of decentralized industries. Insistence on mere 'mechanical efficiency' will not be very helpful under the existing circumstances; we have to plan for 'economic efficiency' in the larger sense of the term. We are confident that the Khadi and Village Industries Board would devote their energy to this aspect of the problem with an open mind. Although it is difficult for village industries to compete with large-scale industries under the existing economic set-up, the difference between the costs of production of the two categories could be considerably reduced if the fruits of scientific research and inventions were more fully utilized by the promoters of village and cottage industries. It is the duty of the Government Technical Institutes and Engineering Colleges to concentrate on research for the benefit of small-scale and cottage industries so that such decentralized manufacturing processes may enable the village artisans to become self-sufficient and strong without the need for any artificial props in the form of State subsidies. The objective of Khadi and village industries ought to be maximum employment plus maximum production at the cheapest cost. Efficiency at the cost of employment would be socially ruinous, whereas mere employment at the cost of efficiency will be economically disastrous. We have to balance the advantages of both for the welfare and prosperity of the millions to whom God manifests Himself only in the form of bread or "a bowl of rice".

There is one more aspect of the problem which deserves our serious and rational consideration. We often hear from the people that cottage and village industries cannot be patronized because they are costlier than mill-made goods. This argument is not only fallacious but also mischievous. No country in the world today which claims to be civilized and progressive can afford to allow the unemployed to be on the streets without any provision for food and shelter. In the West, the registered unemployed are entitled to receive 'doles' for their maintenance. Such allowances are deemed to be absolutely essential for maintaining social, economic and even political equilibrium. In West Germany I found that the employed persons had to pay about 25 per cent 'Unemployment Tax' for the maintenance of their less fortunate brethren. This tax is paid by the persons concerned ungrudgingly as a necessary social obligation. It is, therefore, not very desirable from the psychological point of view to be paid 'doles' without any regular work. Unemployment is not only an economic evil but also a moral and mental problem. It is, therefore, better to provide for work even though with cruder instruments of production rather than to grant 'doles' for no work owing to a craze for mechanical advancement and so-called progress. The use of less efficient technology will mean higher cost of production from the standpoint of a pure economist. But if we consider the 'social costs' as well, village industries would be ultimately cheaper from an over-all point of view. The higher price that is paid for cottage products should be regarded by the consumers as a sort of voluntary 'unemployment tax' which has the merit of elasticity in accordance with the ability of the consumer to pay. Such a tax fulfils almost all the canons of taxation, i.e. certainty, ability, convenience and equity. By paying a higher price for rural crafts we combine utility with charity. In our country, secret charity (*gupta-dan*) is regarded as very noble. We can, certainly, practise this virtue by patronizing the village and small-scale industries, for while we gladly pay for providing employment to our fellow-citizens we have no chance of exhibiting our righteousness before the beneficiaries. Viewed from this standpoint, the argument of higher prices in the case of cottage products betrays not only ignorance but also lack of civic sense.

Lastly, let us also understand very clearly that a comprehensive programme of development for village industries in India, or for that matter in any country, cannot be carried through without considerably affecting the existing large-scale industries. If we desire to revitalize the cottage and small-scale industries without in any way touching the corresponding mill manufacturers, we shall be indulging in self-deception and economic jugglery. While we recognize that there is no inherent conflict between small-scale and large-scale industries, the full development of village industries at this stage of our economic progress would surely come in the way of indiscriminate expansion of Big Business. Let there be no mincing of matters; the far-reaching implications of the problem of providing full employment through decentralized production must be faced by us boldly and intelligently. Large-scale industries in the form of Basic or Key enterprises are essential for every country, although they should be State-owned; but large-scale industries producing consumer goods like cloth, oil, polished rice, sugar etc. should be prepared to curtail their scope and expansion in the larger interests of the country. Let us hope

that the Khadi and Village Industries Board would study the whole problem scientifically and place before the Government a definite and practical scheme for the speedy but sound development of rural industries in India.

BAPU'S DEATH-ANNIVERSARY *

Though my heart is overwhelmed, I will try to speak a few words. It is now five years since Bapu left the mortal body and departed from our midst. Every one is fated to leave the body. It is a law which applies equally to the great and the small, to the *avatar* as well as the ordinary man. But the great leave something behind them, something which is of the essence of their life on earth and which endures. Of the great in India, we hear of Rama, Krishna and Buddha and many other names. We hear of such illustrious names outside India too, names like Zarthustra, and Christ and Muhammad. But they all flourished in ages past and we did not see them. Some of their contemporaries saw them and made records of their doings and sayings as their sacred bequest to mankind. This has come down to us and we cherish it.

But in case of Bapu, we have had the opportunity to see him. Some of us had the good luck even of associating with him in his work. A number of people made changes in their lives by following his path. And India obtained its freedom by following his lead. We now observe his anniversary and do something as a mark of respect to his memory. We do so not for any good that it may do to him, for he by his own noble deeds has attained the highest state and we cannot hope to help him in any way by our remembrance. We remember him obviously for our own good.

So today when we remember him we should ponder what good we have done to ourselves by our remembrance of him over these five years. What have we achieved in our individual lives, and the collective life and in the life of the nation which has chosen to call him the Father of the Nation ? Have we done anything to improve our life ? How far did we try to tread the path he showed us ? We must reflect over all this and do our utmost to advance further along this road.

I was in the Ashram for 32 years before he passed away, and spent my time in meditation and contemplation and in rendering service to the villagers in the way he had pointed out. After he passed away, people asked me and I also felt the need to go out among the people and to wander about and see the country. First I travelled by rail and surveyed about half of our country. I was under the impression that in thus moving about I would be able to do some service. But the question haunted me : What should be done to implement the fundamental programme of Bapu ; how are we to achieve the social revolution, he envisaged, through Ahimsa ? And finally I came upon the *chintamani*, which is now before you in the form of Bhoodan Yajna and Sampattidan Yajna. I call it *chintamani* in the full sense of the term, for verily that which is capable of fulfilling all our needs is certainly entitled to be called *chintamani*. Bhoodan Yajna and Sampattidan Yajna together constitute a programme which, if it is carried forward to its full fruition, will help all the rest of constructive activities thrive and prosper. Failing that I fear they are bound to languish and wither away. Therefore I have been devoting myself to this all-important work for the last two years. And I believe that I am doing just what Bapu would have done after independence. I wish that all the workers, irrespective of the party or the group they may belong to, should forget their separatist labels and devote themselves to this work for a year or two. If this is done, I am sure, we will have the real taste of the freedom we have won. Because, though the freedom is come, we have not had its taste and flavour. Now this cannot be until the poor man is not raised. He has reached the lowest rung of the ladder whence there can be no more going down. Indeed the depth of poverty and misery he has fallen to is so abysmal that we are finding it difficult to reach down to him and drag him up. But while they should be the first charge on our attention, I am sorry, efforts are not being made to raise them. My submission is that if we direct our efforts to raise them, all the rest will rise automatically. All the other efforts that are being made at present to raise the country benefit first the upper strata, next they benefit the middle ones, and then only the last ones. From what we have proposed ourselves to do, the benefit will first go to the last ones.

The Charkha, the Harijan uplift work, village industries, nature cure, his scheme of Nai Talim, all the various items of constructive activity which Bapu put forward were so devised as to touch these, the lower strata of our society and bring immediate benefit to them. Today I find that this approach to the work of national reconstruction is being neglected. Bhoodan work and Sampattidan work are in line with this fundamental approach. Therefore I demand that all parties should sink their differences and join together in a common endeavour to make a success of this work.

I also demand that besides the workers, the big zamindars and land-holders should also accept this work now as their own. Until now I had to go to them. Now after two years, I think I can ask them that they should voluntarily come forward to donate the land and themselves take up the responsibility for this work. Not only should they give, they should also ask others to give. I hope they will rise equal to the occasion and take up the task. I hope my voice will reach them and they will see that what I am asking them to do

* Vinoba's Speech on the 30th January.

will bring in as much good to them as to the poor. It will give rise to Sarvodaya, i.e. the Good of All.

I am glad that some of them have already taken to this work. They are only a few at present, but the number will increase. Bapu wanted the rich to convert themselves into trustees for the people. This is now time when they should act on his advice and prove themselves worthy of the trust of the people by working for the poor. While there are some, as I said, who are doing so, I am sorry, there are others who are still evicting the tenants from their lands. I request them with folded hands: Brothers, do not do so. This will displease God, which can only lead to all-round misery. We are a people wedded to faith in God and do not give ourselves to the quibblings of reason. We believe in what our Rishis have taught us. I have a feeling that the present-day famines and other calamities are all due to our sins. Let us then give up the sin and pledge ourselves to living a nobler life on this day. Let us give up the petty desire to aggrandize ourselves at the cost of others. And along with this, I want that as long as the land problem remains unsolved, we should continue to devote all our time and energy to this task and should give up attraction for other activities. Let us pledge ourselves completely to work out the solution of this problem and plunge into the work. I have already taken the pledge and I continue to repeat it. Today I again repeat it in your presence and in the presence of God and Bapu. I want that my friends should do the same. And then we will witness the rich fruitage which will blossom forth in our noble land out of such noble endeavour. I have no manner of doubt that it will bring about before long an unrivalled revolution in our country.

We have been doing this work only for the past two years. For a year, I was almost alone. Next year I had helpers and Sarva Seva Sangh also decided to take it up. The Congress, the Praja Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh expressed their sympathy for it, though they have yet to translate this sympathy into action. In spite of the limited nature of the effort, we have been able to collect five lakh acres. Calculating at the rate of two hundred rupees per acre, we have made over at least ten crore rupees worth of property to the poor. And if we continue the effort, these ten crores can be multiplied a hundredfold. But calculation in terms of rupees does not give the true worth of what has been done. Because money runs out sooner or later, while land lasts. If so much has been achieved with so little of effort, it is obvious that if all of us apply ourselves to this momentous task we can bring about the economic revolution, we have been striving for, quite easily, peacefully and in an atmosphere of love and goodwill. May God give us and our co-workers the inspiration and the devotion to do our duty.

(Translated from Hindi)

LABOUR BANK

[If labour is capital it must be pooled well if full employment is our aim. In this instalment of "Full Employment Plan of a Village" is discussed the technique of executing it through a Labour Bank for a village. — Ed.]

Assessment of Resources

The technique of execution lies in adopting an educative process by which village people come to understand an overall picture of their resources in man and material, and the way in which the manpower can be equated with the material resources so as to achieve the objective of full employment and full standard of life. For this purpose, a survey will have to be carried out for the preparation of a production plan laying down physical targets. The final achievement of these targets may be possible when the full cooperation of the Government is also available; but what is to be emphasized is to bring into bold relief the impediments either of the villagers' making or otherwise coming in the way of fulfilment of these targets.

Labour Bank

The Labour Bank idea is very vital to the future development of the country. Planning for the Labour Bank will be in the same category as planning done by our social leaders in regard to the artisan's relationship with the agriculturists' in the villages. By capitalizing manpower it opens up vast potentialities for increasing production. It will build up a system of utilizing the surplus manpower for production purposes or public utilities. The very idea of a bank suggests that utilization of manpower will be made in a businesslike manner. Here people can deposit their labour in terms of so many hours or can also borrow in a similar way. The bank will have to provide incentives to people to put in their spare labour through it in a suitable manner. It must be capable of utilizing all such labour offered to it. In fact the bank should make yearly budgets of the surplus manpower on the credit side and projects on the debit side.

Thus the bank will establish two things:

(i) It will enable the execution of plans for increasing wealth production mainly through the utilization of the surplus manpower without much depending on finances.

(ii) It will evolve a method of utilization of manpower in a most advantageous way. As noted above, manpower is to be equated with the material resources for which assessment of both is necessary. Every able-bodied person in a village should work for 2,400 hours a year at the rate of 8 hours a day for 300 working days. From an intensive survey of each family in the village, the total man hours available and utilized will have to be ascertained and development programmes formulated, indicating the extent to which surplus manpower will be absorbed in each item.

Programme for a Labour Bank

Three categories of programmes will have to be conceived.

(i) Public utility programmes which are non-productive such as roads, drinking water wells, recreation grounds, public buildings etc.

(ii) Public programmes which are productive such as irrigation tanks, cow-dung gas plant etc.

(iii) Programmes of individual interests.

If these development programmes are to be carried out on the strength of surplus manpower in the villages without much dependence on finances, payment of wages will have to be split up into two parts. Part of the wage covering food for the working day will have to be immediately paid in the form of cooked food or grains, preferably the former. The balance of the wage will be credited to the accounts of persons depositing labour to be paid at the convenience of the borrower. Provision of enough food to cover non-productive public utility programmes which will be expected to provide only food part of the wage will have to be pre-arranged. The survey should work out details along these lines.

While formulating the programme for the Labour Bank, the following considerations may be kept in view :

1. While there should be full provision of work for the whole working population, no section of the population should be overworked. This may mean a redistribution of some activities and lightening of the burden and drudgery of the women who may be over-worked today. The employment plan should provide enough leisure for cultural development.

2. The aptitude and capacity of individuals having spare time at their disposal must be taken into account and a regular plan of work kept ready to utilize this extra labour.

3. To start with, the prevailing standards of values should be followed in regard to the payment of wages to different classes of workers. An attempt may be made to introduce a sort of Labour Currency and exchange values between goods and services may be fixed.

4. The employment plan may be formulated on the basis of rationalization of agriculture which will throw out surplus population from agriculture.

5. In addition to the present demands and requirements of the rural population new demands will have to be created in the light of the new social and cultural values.

6. A class of public workers will have to be created for village development programmes.

7. The enquiry should not merely be fact-finding but should be educative and suggestive. The following is a list of such suggestive activities :

A. FOR WOMEN

(i) *Education* : (a) Balawadi and (b) classes for women for subjects such as dietetics, cooking, washing clothes, kitchen gardening, house decoration etc.

(ii) *Industries :* such as knitting, tailoring, food preparations, toy making, ovens, flour grinding, paddy husking, spinning and weaving, bakery, confectionary and canteen. (This unit will be very necessary for meeting demands created by the development programmes).

B. FOR CHILDREN

(i) *Public Utilities* such as tree plantation, preparation and maintenance of play-grounds and gardens etc.

(ii) *Industries* : Spinning, weaving, pottery works, house building etc.

C. FOR MEN

I. *Public Workers* :

(a) *Public Works* such as roads and building construction, drainage and small irrigation works, well digging etc.

(b) *Management of Public Institutions* : Labour Bank, village godowns, village shop, village hospital, night classes, maintenance of farm and village accounts and statistics and managing crop and property protection society etc.

II. *Kisans* : Land development, pasture land development, manure making, dairy development, and spare-time occupations.

III. *Artisans* : House building, processing industries such as oil pressing, paddy husking, flour grinding etc. Soap, paint and warnish making, weaving, dyeing and printing, cutlery, flaying dead cattle, tanning and leather works, cloth production, button making, furniture, utensils and tools, umbrella, painting and frame making, door curtains, floor coverings, mattings, cart making, pottery, match and paper making.

The importance of the Labour Bank will be realized if the implications of the plans for increasing wealth production conceived in terms of financial resources are understood. We can illustrate here one or two of them :

(1) *Production sacrificed* : The Five-Year Plan put forth by the Planning Commission provides for an expenditure of Rs 1,800 crores, which comes to Rs 10 per head per year for a population of 36 crores. At the wage rate of a rupee a day, it comes to the utilization of 10 man-days in a year for the whole population of *20 man-days in a year for the working population.* On the other hand, if the plan is labour-intensive, man-days can be utilized many times that utilized under the capital-intensive plan. That way, production will also be considerably increased. Thus on the face of it, the capital-intensive plan sacrifices production. To say that maximum production and full employment are competing objectives is but a travesty of facts.

(2) *Less scope for village industries* : When plans are capital-intensive capital formation on a very big scale becomes central. Capital formation envisages savings. That is to say, at a given purchasing power the cost of consumption should be the lowest. This has significance with

reference to village industries. Because village industries products are costlier than mill products, the argument runs, they are likely to reduce savings and, therefore, adversely affect capital formation. The argument however, is totally misconceived. In the conditions of our country, labour-intensive plans will produce more goods than capital-intensive ones, and, therefore, reduce the real prices of goods or in other words promote more savings.

(Continued)

NOTES

Cost of Smokes

The *Industrial Worker*, Chicago, of December 5, 1952, gives the cost of smokes in U.S.A. as follows:

> "The average cigarette smoker in the United States spends $90.56 a year on his smokes, according to the National Association of Tobacco Distributors. The total number of cigarettes smoked each year runs to the fantastic figure of 378,300,000,000. The cost? More than $4,081,000,000. Cigarettes represent more than 3.6 per cent of all expenditures for non-durable goods in the U. S."

Will some industrious statistician or economist find out average cost of smokes in India? Government can well institute a propaganda drive for national saving from this avoidable bad habit even as a part of their capital formation programme under the F. Y. Plan. It would also release badly needed acreage from tobacco for growing more food.

2-2-'53 M. P.

Gandhiji's Prophecy Fulfilled in Europe

Page 49 of *A Gandhi Anthology,* * Book I reads as follows:

> 'There is no room for any violence — even for guarding the honour of precious ones that may be in your charge. After all that would be a poor defence of the honour. *Ahimsa* tells us that we may guard the honour of those who are in our charge by delivering ourselves into the hands of the man who would commit the sacrilege. And that requires far greater physical and mental courage than the delivering of blows. You may have some degree of physical power, — I do not say courage, — and you may use that power. But after that is expended, what happens? The other man is filled with wrath, and you have made him more angry by matching your violence against his; and when he has done you to death, rest of this violence is delivered against your charge. But if you do not retaliate but stand your ground between your charge and the opponent simply receiving the blows without retaliating, what happens? *I give you my promise that the whole of the violence will be expended on you and your charge will be left unscathed*'.

The best possible commentary on this passage is furnished by the following story taken from a letter to the Editor of *Peace News* (January 2, 1953, page 3) from Mr Michail J. Randle:

> 'The beatification of Mgr. Ahor, Bishop of Gyor in Hungary has been under consideration at the Vatican.
>
> 'When Allied troops entered Gyor in 1945, many women sought shelter in the Bishop's residence.
>
> 'A number of soldiers demanded entry. Mgr. Ahor stood guard and refused to move. Several shots were fired and the Bishop was killed on the spot. The soldiers then went away.
>
> '......If Mgr. Ahor had tried to defend these women by physical violence he could not possibly have saved them. As it was, he sacrificed his life for them, and the soldiers were so moved by this that they left the women unharmed.'

V. G. D.

* Pub. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-9, Price As. 6; Postage etc. As. 2.

'Sage of Sevagram'

This little book of 193 pages is a new publication on Gandhiji by Shrimati Chitra Desai. It is published by Bharat Prakashan, 4, Pitha Cross Lane, Bombay-1 and priced at Rs 3/-. Shrimati Hansa Mehta in the course of her Foreword writes:

> "This was an essay on Gandhiji for an essay competition organized by the Mahadevbhai Trust Committee. The writer has tried to condense the life and teaching of Gandhiji in hundred typed pages. It is a good achievement since the writer has not missed a single important event from Gandhiji's life. The first part deals with a sketch of his life and the second part tries to analyse his personality and teachings.....This little brochure written in simple style will, I am sure, not be a superfluous addition to this growing literature on Mahatma Gandhi."

H.

After the War

[The following is taken from the *Industrial Worker*, Chicago, of December 5, 1952, which number a friend kindly sent me. No comments are necessary. Ed.]

After the war is over,
After the slaughter is done,
After the people are ruined,
After the victory's won,
Labour will go on drudging,
Wondering what it was for,
Paying for generations,
After the War.

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